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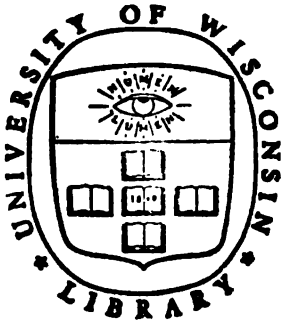

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"THE TWELFTH CENTURY ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF THE VOYAGE OF ST. BRANDAN TO HELL AND TO THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE."

By

REBECCA SHAPIRO

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

MASTER OF LETTERS

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1900

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"THE VOYAGE OF ST. BRANDAN".

Many eminent scholars have written of the legend of St. Brandan and his wonderful voyage not only because of its merit as a literary production of its own age, but also because of the part it plays in the development of the treatment in literature of human conceptions of heaven and hell, which find their culmination in such works as the Divine Comedy and Paradise Lost of the modern era.

The Latin version of the Voyage of St. Brandan is probably a production of the latter part of the eleventh or the early part of the twelfth century as Mr. Zimmer quite conclusively shows.[1] The story, or at least parts of it, can be traced to a far earlier period. Like all other great works it is but an old story told in a better way, in a manner more suitable to the intellectual level of the age in which it was written. The foundation upon which the whole is built is the search for the terrestrial paradise, the land of the blest. The idea of an after life in which mortals receive reward or punishment for their good or ill doing upon earth is as old as civilization. It is true that it is frequently combined with mythology, but

1. Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Litteratur - Steinmeyer vol. XXXIII p. 129 and fol.

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taken out of its setting the belief is clearly expressed in many productions of early times. In Book XI of the Odyssey, Homer describes the descent of Ulysses into the realm of Pluto where souls were punished after death. Plato in Book X of the Republic in the story of Her describes the future life of both the blessed and unblessed. The Romans in their imitative style borrowed the notion from the Greeks and in Cicero's Republic, the dream of Scipio is a parallel to the dream of Her. Virgil's Aeneid in Book VI reveals the same belief. The introduction of Christianity develops the idea most fully.. The early Christians in their intense religious fervor devote themselves almost exclusively to the attainment of future happiness. Their excess of religious sentiment makes them desirous of seeing the abode of the blessed before it is time. Perchance they undertook some few voyages with that end in view. At least they gave full rein to their imaginations and many wonderful voyages for the purpose of discovering the seat of future joy are recorded.

The life of St. Brandan handed down to us by Latin writers[1] is briefly:

St. Brandan, one of the renowned Irish saints, was the son of Finlogho of the race of Hua Alta. He was nourished

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1. Liber hymnorum - Moran. Acta Sancti Brendani - Dublin, 1872, in Schroeder's Sanct Brandan, p. 3.

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by the hermitess Ita for five years, after which he went to be instructed by Bishop Ercus, by Jarlatheus and others. Having received from an angel a set of rules for a cloister he founded the abbey of Cluainferte or Clonfert in the dukedom of Gallaway. His renown for wisdom and goodness brought to him three thousand monks. He died in 576 or 577. His pupil, St. Colomba, was informed by a dream of his arrival in paradise. He was made a saint and the 16th of May was set aside for the festival of St. Brandan.

No mention is made of a voyage undertaken by him in search of the terrestrial paradise. We must seek for the source of the poem elsewhere. Mr. Zimmer[1] points out that the material was gleaned from Irish lore. By careful research he has found in the book of Leinster of the twelfth century mention of Brendan without reference to the Navigatio. In the book of Luismore of the fifteenth century he finds two references made to the voyage of the saint, one merely a union of "die vita" and a voyage, the other a mere mention of the voyage in another story. In the above mentioned book of Leinster compiled before 1160, among the Imrama or voyages is found one which has for its hero Maelduin. The account is long and filled with the relation of marvelous adventures most of which are very

1. Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, p. 257 and foll.

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interesting, but of no importance to our subject, save a few. Maelduin in his travels comes upon an isle of birds, he visits the land of the sheep (though they are not all white), he sails to the mouth of hell, his monks over-indulge in the water of a fountain and become intoxicated and so on. Maelduin sees all that Brandan sees, but the encounter of the sea monsters and the adventure upon Jasconius, the whale. These two details are borrowed from a still younger poem, Imram Brenaind. Such a connection with the Imrama is substantiated by Gustav Schirmer[1] who says: "Cette dissertation offre quelque interêt au point de vue des rapports de la Navigatio Brendani avec les autres récits de voyages fantastiques qui formaient une classe spéciale (Imrama) dans la littérature irlandaise."

How the story of Maelduin came to be connected with the name of St. Brandan is explained by Mr. Zimmer in this wise: In the Imram Maelduin, mention is made of a monk Brendan. Since no wonderful voyage is noted in the Latin life of St. Brandan surely Brenaind hua Alta cannot have been the person designated. It was evidently intended for a Brendan von Birra who died in 565 according to the Chronicon Scotorum. Mr. Zimmer says:[2] "It is probable

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1. Zur Brendanus Legende- Leipsig, 1888, p. 73.
2. Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, vol. XXXIII, p.297.

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that the priests of the ninth and tenth centuries misunderstood that portion of Imram Maelduin and confused the two Brendans using the latter instead of the former." He goes on to say:[1] "Ich denke die composition des ganzen ist klar; eine concilante natur frühstens aus dem ende des 11 oder dem 12 jh. wollte die anschauungen der älteren zeit- die von einer Bussreise Brendans nach Britannien wuste aber ohne dass selbige einen besonders hervorragenden teil seines lebens bildete, die jedoch von einer oceanreise Brendans keine ahnung hatte - mit denen ihrer zeit vereinigen - die von Brendan von Clonfert eigentlich fast weiter nichts als seine oceanreise, nach der terra repromissionis kannte-: sie folgte daher der alten lat. vita bis zum schluss von capitel 11 (bei Moran) und vereinigte dann die widersprüche in der doppleten oceanfahrt."

After the appearance of the Latin legend of St. Brandan nearly all the nations of Europe adopted the story, each producing it with strong local coloring. Indeed, the belief in the reality of the isle of St. Brandan resulted from the legend being so widely known and even as late as 1721 Don Juan de Mur, governor of the Canary Islands, sent out an expedition for its discovery. It is needless to say that the island of St. Brandan may still be described in the words of the old Spanish writer as the

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1. Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, vol. XXXIII, p. 323.

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island "Quando se busca, no se halla." In consequence we have today many existing manuscripts in most of the languages of civilized Europe. For convenience we can divide them into three groups: the first, containing all the Latin manuscripts; the second, those derived directly from the Latin, namely: the Anglo-Norman, Old French and Middle English; the third, those either originating in the second group or else in another Navigatio not preserved, the material for which came from the Navigatio of today. The old Spanish and Gallic each have versions of the same poem. The Irish texts were suppressed by the priests because they looked upon the poem as a bad rendering of Bible history.

The Latin manuscripts would necessarily be more numerous than those of any other group since the Latin predominated during the Middle Ages and any writer of any land might write in that language. There are in the Bibliothèque Royale as many as eleven Latin texts of the poem dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Mr. Jubinal's[1] text is a reproduction of the Latin manuscript of the eleventh century with emendations from a better preserved manuscript of the twelfth century. A very valuable text is that of the Arsenal library of the abbey of St.

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1. La Legende Latine de S. Brandanus avec une traduction inédite en prose and en Poésie Romanes.

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Victor. To these may be added two others, one at Strassbourg and one at St. Gallen.

Inasmuch as the third group is of less importance to us in this work, we will consider it briefly first and then continue with group two. The story as told in the German accounts is quite different from that of the Latin group, enough so at least to prove that they are a new production and not an attempt to copy or translate the Latin directly. A synopsis of the German version will bring the differences to light. An angel brings the abbot Brandan a book from heaven in which are described many wonderful and marvelous things existing on earth. Brandan's faith is not strong enough to enable him to lend credence to the contents, so he consigns it to the flames. As a punishment, God calls upon him to return the book. Thereupon the abbot betakes himself upon a long voyage. He travels o'er land and sea, finally passes through hell, tho the blessings of heaven are still denied him. He is destined to voyage until God's grace sets him free. An angel again appears and informs Brandan that he shall at length come upon two great fires, the eyes of the ox upon whose tongue he shall find the book. Following the directions of the angel he obtains the object of his long extended voyage. The book is brought back to Ireland by Uranius. Brandan does not return. In group two Brandan undertakes the

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search for the land of the blest of his own accord and returns to Ireland. The story of the book is peculiar to the German. Schroeder would make the spirit of the German versions quite different from the Latin, and from the French and English derived therefrom, and needless to say, superior. He remarks:[1] "Zu der eben charakterisierten lateinischen Legende stellt sich nun die deutsche Bearbeitungen in starken Gegensatz. Jene ist im Ganzen schlicht; die sieben Jahre der Irrfahrt verlaufen im Kreise; wo die Brüder das eine Jahr die Festzeiten verlebt haben, dahin kehren sie auch im andern zurück; das specifish Mönchische überwiegt der Art, dass die Schilderung einer Kirche mit Anlehnung an Stellen der Apokalypse, die Beschreibung mönchischen Lebens so wie die wiederholte detaillierte Ausführung des täglichen Officiums mit allen Psalmenstellen fast die Hauptsache bilden. Ganz anders im deutschen Gedicht. Aus der stillen Schreiberzelle des Mönches sehn wir uns plötzlich versetzt in das bunte Treiben der fahrenden Epiker des 12. Jahrhunderts. Auch dort ist alles wunderbar, wie es die Sache mit sich bringt aber dabei geistlicher und frömmer gehalten, einfach, ja leer und dürr; die Erfindungen und Zutaten sind oft handgreiflich aber bescheiden, nicht selten kindlich und sinnig.

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1. Schroeder, Sanct Brandan, p. 14.

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Dagegen findet sich hier etwas von dem Geiste, der im Verlaufe der Kreuzfahrten die Menschen ergriff, von der Freude an ungeheuren Waffenthaten, an seltsam übertriebenen Wunderwerken, an fremden, von Inhalt neuen, spannenden Mähren, ja wie es im Geiste der 12 Jahrhunderts lag, wird nun die Einbildungs Kraft der Menschen aus allen Schranken gerissen und hinfort konnte nur das Ungewöhnlichste in der Dichtung reizen. Das Abenteuerlichste und Wunderbarste war der Zeit das Erwünschteste, neu erstehende Sagen dieses Charackters verbreiteten sich mit Blitzesschnelle." The monk's theft, Jasconius, the suffering of Judas, the provisions sent to the monks by the Almighty, the German group has in common with the Latin. Of the ten manuscripts which have come down to us containing German versions of the Voyage of St. Brandan, the best is considered the one written on the lower Rhine in the twelfth century. Toward the end of the 15th century the poem was put into prose and printed at least thirteen times.

Before entering upon the study of the Anglo-French versions of St. Brandan, the oldest and most important of group two, i.e. of those versions which are considered the direct offspring of the Latin version, a word may be said of the later independent Old French renderings of the Latin original. Jubinal, in a volume now out of print, but of which a copy was fortunately obtained, published

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in 1846 two of these, one in prose and one in verse, the prose version dating from the end of the twelfth century, and the version in verse from the thirteenth. The Bibliothèque du Roi alone has twenty manuscripts containing the latter text. From no point of view, however, are any of these later French versions to be compared in worth with the Anglo-French version.

Mr. Julleville[1] in his discussion of the Brandan legend in France says: "Celtic poetry enters into France after the Norman conquest. The dominant character of the Celtic religious cycle is not oriental asceticism, but a mysticism sweet, dreamy and even adventurous. Whilst the saints of the east fled to the deserts and became hermits, the saints of the western Celtic country are voyagers and pilgrims."

Accordingly the twelfth century produces the first and most important French manuscript of the marvelous voyage of St. Brandan, now found in the British Museum under Ms. L. Cotton, Vesp. B. X, published in two different editions, one by Suchier in Böhmers Roman. Stud. I, p.567 and foll., 1875, and one by Fr. Michel in Paris, 1878, under the title of "Les voyages merveilleux de St. Brandan."

The manuscript in the Arsenal library,[2] the of a century later, is clearly but a copy of the above mentioned

1. Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française des Origines à 1900, vol.I, p. 28.
2. Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil., II, p. 438.

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and it may be remarked that the copyist Renaud was unusually true to his text. The differences between the two can be expressed by calling the latter a translation of the former into the French of the thirteenth century. The verbal forms are changed in the younger manuscript. The copyist uses his own choice of words. Examples of this are innumerable:

l. 656 Mich - fedeillos
l. 594 ars - seelos
l. 603 ars - venu
l. 655 Mich - curant
l. 755 ars - outre mesure
l. 805 Mich - sanz mesure
l. 838 Mich - Jacoines
l. 787 ars - balaine
l. 1370 Mich - ruez
l. 1321 ars - leues
l. 323 Mich - tenebrus
l. 220 ars - loscurte
l. 346 ars - prendon
l. 401 Mich - ruvun

Changes are made to obtain the nine syllables, thought by the translator necessary to the feminine verse. To do this, adverbs, adjectives, prepositions, articles and pronouns

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are inserted. For example:

1. 629 ars - mlt preciuses and mult enteres.

1. 681 Mich - preciuses e enteres.

1. 626 ars - Les bons tixtes

1. 676 Mich - les tixtes

1. 951 ars - trestotes

1. 999 Mich-tutes

1. 393 Mich - Judis est oi de la Ceine

1. 338 ars - Car ioesdi est huj de la caine

The manuscript of the British Museum is dedicated to Queen Adeliza, wife of Henry I of England. The Arsenal launches right into the story with the words:

"Seignor, oies que jo dirai

D'un saint hom vos conterai,"

and omits lines 73 - 93 Michel in which is recounted the story of Barinz in search of his son Mernoc. The copyist seems anxious to reserve all glory for Brandan himself admitting no other character of the age that might detract from it. Nor will he fail to grasp the opportunity offered to teach a moral lesson. The following short sermon is added to the original text:

"li rois del ciel doinst padis

a nos 7 at 9 nos amis

dites amen q̄ dex lotroit

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Si faites bn 7 tostans droit
dex v 9 fera lo g a nt p don
Si c il fist s lasaron
explicit de g P a udan."

Either text is occasionally lacking a line or two found in the other. The texts now obtainable of the Arsenal manuscript omit lines 1448-1512 (Michel) and lines 1548-1565 (Michel) because of the loss of the back fly-leaf of the original upon which the lines were written. The remaining three manuscripts of the poem in the Anglo-Norman up to this time unpublished, are preserved respectively, in the Bodleian library, Oxford, the library at Ashburnham place and in the library at York.

The Old English, too, preserves for us the legend of St. Brandan in prose, a reprint of which can be found in the Illustrations of Longfellow's translation of Dante's Divine Comedy (vol. I). Closely allied to the Old French poem, but quite different from it in matter of detail, is the Old English manuscript in the Bodleian library entitled Vita Sancti Brendain abbatis de Hy[1]ernia. The latter follows the former closely enough to offer at times some little enlightenment on obscure passages. The French has 1835 verses, the English 736, each about twice the

1. The early South Eng. Legendary or Lives of Saints. For Early Eng. text Society.

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length of a French verse. The time of the entire voyage is seven years in both manuscripts. It required three days to find a harbor on the first isle to which they come. Likewise four months pass between the arrival at the Paradise of Birds and the arrival at the isle of Silence.

So far there is sufficient similarity. After their first departure, according to the English version, the monks are at sea forty days, the French makes it forty-five. St. Paul has been on his isle all of a hundred and twenty years by English reckoning, and but ninety by the French. Brandan chooses but twelve monks instead of fourteen; two monks and not three request to be allowed to accompany the abbot. This necessitates the omission of the episode of the monk's theft in the castle upon the first isle upon which our pilgrims landed. Here are important additions to the English version. A hound is introduced as a guide to the beautiful castle, the first marvel discovered. The French text omits it entirely. Succeeding the fight of the sea monsters (common to both), the sailors suffer famine from which they are succored by the grapes found on an isle that appears very opportunely. The Anglo-Norman ignores the isle and rescues the voyagers by a third part of a fish killed in the fight of the sea monsters. St. Patrick was the favorite saint

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among the peoples of the British isles, hence he must needs be introduced. He is made the advisor of St. Paul the hermit. Its omissions are no less marked. The marvellous pillar of gold, the intoxication of the monks from drinking the pitchy water, the story of St. Albeu told in the isle of Silence by the abbot of the cloister, the marble white tree with red spotted leaves in the Paradise of Birds find no place in the English account. The repeated sermons of the author of the French version, such as l. 1174-8:-

"Saint hom cum ad plusurs travailz
De faim, de seif, de freiz, de calz,
Aimxe, tristur, e ganz pours,
De cunt vers Deu creist sis cours

and lines 15-18, 23-26, 243-246, give us some hint as to the rank of the ecclesiastic who, without doubt, wrote it. The English author recounts all the adventures as done by the "louerdes grace," but seldom if ever stops the current of his story to teach a moral lesson, though he does occasionally put general moral statements in the mouths of his characters. He was perchance, not a preacher. The greatest difference between the two poems is that the Anglo-Norman alone contains a detailed account of the punishment of Judas in hell. The Latin and English ver-

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sions relate the adventure in which he is the central figure in a very few lines describing only the periods of rest from his torture on the lonely rock in the sea.

The Anglo-French text dates from 1121 A. D. Only one other Anglo-French text, the Computus of Phillipe de Thaun, can vie with it in age. It is written in octosyllabic verse, with masculine and feminine rhymes, the latter having only the required eight syllables, counting the final feminine e. It is true that some few feminine verses have nine syllables, but they are so rare that we may call them blunders made by the copyist. In counting the syllables, the mute e before the accent does not make a syllable when it is in the future or the conditional of verbs of the first conjugation or of faire and ester. It may or may not count in "eez" or in e after the accent as in "ure."

The caesura falls after the fourth syllable whether it be accented or unaccented. The e is a peculiar syllable in the meter, which justifies a greater accent upon it and so we speak of a caesura following. In some cases the fourth syllable does not permit of a caesura following because it does not end a word as line 112 "dunc emparlerent dui e dui," a verse without caesura.

Mr. Tobler[1] maintains that the caesura after the fourth

1. Le vers français ancien et moderne, Tobler, p. 123 ..

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in question as line 413 "L'estre d'iloc l'abés enquist." Never do we find it in the nominative plural as line 518, "E tu e tuit li altre oisel." It is probable that even these few cases are only cases of apparent non-elision, the verse requiring elision. Cf. line 224. "Li abes dunc les amonestet." The i of the definite article, masculine, singular was frequently elided at the time of the Roland, whereas in the older St. Alexis it was never elided, so that the probabilities are that at the time St. Brandan was written, elision was the rule.

Mr. Michel in the Introduction to his edition of this text gives an analysis of the poem which, he says, is "d'autant plus nécessaire que le vieux texte Anglo-Normand est plus obscur et se refuse au secours qu'un autre pourrait recevoir d'un glossaire." If the poem is to be read merely to obtain a knowledge of its contents, it is obvious that a summary of as much as two hundred and twenty-seven lines of it in a few short sentences is not sufficient. In view of the fact that the tortures which Judas undergoes in hell are described in these lines (1212-1439) and that lines 1098-1200 which Michel passes over with the sentence: "Le trovère donne la déscription du séjour des damnés," are the very lines which are of importance to a student, as a source of the Divine Comedy, a more careful analysis may

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syllable of the octosyllabic verse did not appear in French poetry. He admits that when that syllable is the last syllable of a word, it is often accented, but he refuses to overlook the numerous cases in which the accent on it is wanting, because the caesura cannot fall after a syllable not the last one of the word of which it forms a part. He says:[1] "Il est fort douteux que même pour la période la plus ancienne, la césure dans le vers de huit syllabes ait été autre chose que l'effet du hasard, ou plutôt autre chose qu'un produit direct de la nature du vers et du langage indépendant de l' intention et de la volonté du poète."

The weakness of the above statement so far as its application to St. Brendan is concerned, is apparent when we note that the hiatus is allowed after polysyllabic words ending in e when the e falls in the fourth syllable of the line. Inasmuch as the hiatus is allowed in no other case, there remains no doubt as to the existence of a caesura after each fourth syllable.

Mahrer[2] claims that the elision of i is a matter of choice. It occurs in fifty places and is omitted in nine. When it is elided the nominative singular is always

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1. Le vers francais ancien et moderne, Tobler, p. 125.
2. Zeitschrift für Roman Phil. vol. IX, p. 78.

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properly be presented here. More properly also, because of the inaccuracy of other abstracts of the poem as that of Ernest Renan in his essay on "La Poésie des races Celtiques" where we are told that the voyage lasted three years or that one in the "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française" edited by M. le Petit de Julleville where the information is supposed to be definite and accurate. The first sentence states: (Tome I, p. 29.) "St. Brandan part sur une barque avec vingt moines et des vivres pour quelques jours. There is throughout the text no mention of twenty monks but "de ses moines quatorze estist" (line 107) and when they were about to set sail, "Ast-vos jà tres curanz ades" (line 188) and there is no inconsistency, in this respect at least, in the poem. Not only does this oldest version of St. Brandan, which is confessedly the one here analyzed, contain no mention of twenty monks but no other accessible version speaks of twenty. The Latin version published by Carl Schroeder reads: "Igitur Sanctus Brandanus de omni congregacione sua electis bis fratribus VII. The old French prose version published by Jubinal has: "Quant li XL jour furent trepassé, et li frère furent salué et commandé au prouvost de l'abeie qui fu après los successères en cele meisme lui, dont ala vers Occident à tous XIIII frères à l'isle d'un saint père qui est apielés

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Aeude. The version in old French verse published by Jubinal in the same volume p. 110 reads: "XIII freres prist o lui Et en une ille s en alerent." The Latin translation of the old French poem published by Ernst Martin in volume XVI. of the Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum p. 290, shows no variation: "Sic Brandanus moiatus cursibus duorum.

Ex hiis ausum animat cursuum novorum.

Hec cum suis contulit optimis suorum.

Tessera cum decade numerus eorum.

The Old English text already quoted makes the number fourteen.

No analysis, however accurate, can in any case compensate for an intelligent reading of the text, but when the poem is to be used to teach the history of the French element in English an exact understanding of the text becomes absolutely necessary. In the new school of English at Oxford the four texts prescribed for the study of this element are the "Computus" of Phillippe de Thaun, "Les voyages de St. Brandan" (the two oldest Anglo-French texts) the song of "Dermot and the Earl" and "Les

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Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon." All of these except the "Voyage of St. Brandan" have been edited with all the helps to be obtained from a glossary and a careful study of the language. It seems, however, by a comparison of the different versions of the St. Brandan legend and by the work, which has been done since Michel's publication, upon the Anglo-Norman dialect in general, and upon the language of this version of St. Brandan in particular, such an edition might now be prepared with no more uncertain or disputed readings of special words and lines than may be found in other old French poems of equal age.

Shortly before Michel published his edition of the St. Brandan (1878) in which he endeavored to present the manuscript "tel qu'il est, sans ancune tentative pour l'éclaircir, si ce n'est par une ponctuation sévère, une accentuation des plus sobres, et une analyse destinée à remplacer un glossaire-index," Hermann Suchier, as stated above, had published in volume I of Romanische Studien, the same manuscript "diplomatico more," or as Michel quaintly says "sans ponctuation ni aucun des autres

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signes sans lesquels un ouvrage en langue vulgaire du XII siècle est à peu près inintelligible, si ce n'est pour quelques adeptes dont le nombre ne dépasse point celui des doigts de la main."

By a comparison of this oldest and most valuable manuscript of the St. Brandan published by Michel and Suchier, with the Arsenal manuscript, the old French version made some one hundred and fifty years later and three other unpublished manuscripts of the poem.[1] Hammer has given a detailed study of the language of the poem. More than fifty words which Hammer calls attention to as incorrect in form are written in Michel's edition as he would have them. In general, his study is most helpful in determining the proper form of the words which offer no particular difficulty in interpretation. Nevertheless, he is able occasionally to offer valuable suggestions upon difficult points. The word evain for example, in line 901, which Godefroi[2] gives quoting only this line of St. Brandan as possibly meaning bateau,

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1. Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil. vol. IX.
2. Dictionnaire de Anc. lang. franc.

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Hammer says, "für evain ist jedoch navain einzusetzen u. wie nourrain für nourrin (nutrinem) so würde für parrin (line 89) parrain gesetzt, so erhalten wir die reinen Reime parrain; navain," a reading which seems entirely plausible considering the fact that the evain is preceded by the indefinite article: "En mer se mist en un evain" (line 90).

Most helpful suggestions on knotty points come from the Latin versions of the St. Brandon legend. The word jacoines (line 838) not in Godefroi and rendered in the Arsenal text by baleine is easily understood from the Latin jasconius, "doch eben nichts anders als das latinisierte iasc das alte irische Wort für (fish) Fisch." Line 1126 "De fous sufflanz li venz en ruit," is sufficiently interpreted by the Latin (Schroeder p. 28) "audierunt sonitus folium sufflantium quasi tonitrum atque malleorum collisionum contra ferrum et incudes."
Lines 1515-7. "Une bodme puis il survint
Ist uns hom tost de cel liu
Religius semblout e piu".
the word bodme, not found in Godefroi is rendered in the Arsenal text by abeie; but the Latin texts make Pols li hermites come out of a spelunca which in the prose and verse translation of the Latin texts published by Jubinal is rendered by fosse. This naturally suggests that une

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bodme is a corruption of une borde, a hut, a much more probable place than an abbey for a hermit to live. But it is not only in individual words that the Latin texts are helpful. Frequently their fuller statements throw light upon passages of the old poem where brevity enhances the ordinary difficulty of the text. In the following analysis an attempt will be made to maintain the simplicity of the poem by keeping to the text as closely as possible in choice of words.

The dedicatory address of this interesting old poem is made to Queen Aaliz in the name of the apostle Benediz. Brandan, the good abbot, born of noble line and therefore destined to a noble end, leaves the false honors of his position for the true in becoming a monk. He was elected an abbot. Because of his virtue men from divers places surrounded him and follow his example.

Brandan had intended spending all his time praying to God for the salvation of his friends. He became desirous of one thing for which he prayed most often. He wished to see that paradise where Adam was first seated for he desired much to see what place the good are to have and what place the evil. He went to Barinz to confess. The latter told him all he had seen on land and sea when he had gone in search of his son Mernoc. He had gone to sea in a boat and had landed upon an isle where

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storms did not rage and the flowers poured forth the odors of paradise. After Brandan had heard this he prepared to depart. He chose fourteen of his best monks who undertake the search with ardor and promise endurance. The abbot leads them to a chapel where he delivers an address. No one delayed to do the duty charged upon him and the abbot ceased not to pray. Finally he takes leave of his brothers begging them to be loyal to their God.

Brandan goes away toward the sea. He travels without rest until he reaches what was called "le Salt Brandan." In a bay at this place he has his ship made. Within it was of pine, without it was covered with leather. They store away provisions sufficient for forty days. All enter the boat Brandan bringing up the rear. After them come running three monks with palms extended, begging to be allowed to accompany them. Brandan prophesies that Satan will have two, the third, though strongly tempted, will be sustained. Thereupon he blesses all. The storms of the east drive them to the west for fifteen days. Suddenly the wind ceases. Brandan calls upon his frightened brothers to trust in God and be resigned. For a month the calmness of the sea prevents sailing and they are obliged to row. A land high and great appears. The coast is high and rocky. After three days' search for a port they moor their boat and set out to explore. Their

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way leads to a beautiful castle made of marble and set with gems. They enter the uninhabited place, refresh themselves in its store-room and retire. When all are asleep Satan seduces one. The culprit arises stealthily in the night to steal a golden goblet. Brandan is aware of the theft. On the fourth day the robber is accused by Brandan. He confesses his guilt and pleads for pardon. Satan exorcized, chides the abbot for driving him from his abode, the body of the criminal. The first of the three foreseen criminals falls dead as a result of the struggle, but having received absolution, his soul goes to paradise. His body is buried on the strange shore. They proceed to the port to take ship when behold a messenger of God appears. He predicts the attainment of their desire and bids them continue their voyage with full faith in God's virtue.

The voyage continues a year with great labor. Straightway they sail for a land that appears in the distance. It is the land of sheep. Each is white and as large as a deer in these lands. The abbot informs his monks that they will remain three days, since it is the Thursday of Easter week. He commands the boat to be moored and one of the sheep to be prepared as the paschal lamb for Easter. On Sunday a messenger comes to them, salutes in the name of God. His skin is wrinkled, his eyes young. The ab-

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bot demands the cause of the size of the sheep. The man responds that the country never suffers from severe climatic changes. He points out an isle and commands Brandon to land upon it and celebrate the feast of the succeeding day there. All disembark upon the isle, celebrate the mass and prepare their meal. The ground moves away, necessitating a struggle on the part of the monks to regain the ship. The fire they had built was visible from afar upon the moving land.

They sail a great distance when again a land rises before them. The boat pushes up a stream at the head of which is a tree white as marble, high as the clouds. Its leaves are white, spotted red. Branches extend from base to top. Beautiful white birds are perched upon it. One of them flies down and alights on the boat. Upon Brandan's request, the bird informs him that they are angels whose master was he who rebelled against God. He foretells a painful voyage of six years after which they shall arrive in paradise, and he commands them to return each year to celebrate Easter upon the whale's back. The chant is sung and all retire. As soon as the sun is up, the messenger appears with food. He promises them sustenance until the end of Pentecost. Just before their departure at the completion of the time required, the bird flies down and predicts a troublesome sea voyage and their ul-

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timate arrival at Abeu where they will spend Christmas.

At the end of four months they spy land, six pass before they reach it. After sufficient trouble in finding a port, they anchor. They come upon two fountains, one clear, one troubled. Brandan warns the thirsty men not to indulge until they know the nature of the water. A tall old man appears in monk's garb. Silently he falls at Brandan's feet, rises, kisses all and taking the abbot by the hand, leads him to his dwelling.

The abbot of the place brings forth his treasures, his reliquary, all set in precious stones and made of gold. All the monks come out and lead the new comers into the refectory where a repast is served. With the exception of the servants, (monks) all the brothers repair to the chapel chanting the service, after which the abbot relates the story of Albeu, the founder of his cloister. The latter once rich in fief, left his property to follow God's messenger to the isle. His fame brought many followers to him. The order being well founded, eighteen years previous, God had taken St. Albeu to himself. Nor did he fail to care for the followers. They are free from infirmity. Their sustenance is mysteriously provided. Every day they have a loaf of bread between two, on holidays each has his own. The two fountains have each their respective uses. The clear one is for drinking, the

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troubled warm one for washing. Even their lights are kindled and extinguished of themselves. Thus care free, they exist. As commanded by the abbot, the strangers depart on the eighth day of Epiphany.

The usual hunger and thirst assails them. A thick sea is reached. Driven by a storm they land upon a shore covered with pitchy plants. Notwithstanding the warning of their leader, the monks over-indulge in the water of the stream and become intoxicated. Three days pass. Brandan hastens from the place, and it being now near Holy Thursday, he sails for the Paradise of Birds. As in the preceding year are celebrated Whit Sunday, Easter and the octaves of Pentecost.

The boat sails to the west. A voyage of three fortnights brings them to a very cold region. Troubles assail them, culminating in the appearance of a sea monster. Brandan's unfaltering faith sustains their courage until another beast arrives. Then occurs the horrible combat in which the first is killed.

The morrow brings them to a rainy land. Famine ensues. A third part of the fish killed in the combat furnished timely provision. Nor yet do cease the miracles of God. The flaming griffin undertakes to carry away the boat, when he encounters a flaming dragon, which as a representative of the power of the Almighty, is vic-

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torious. On the feast of St. Peter, the abbot was chanting service in a high, clear voice. His monks beseech him to speak lower lest all be killed by the fish which are visible in the depths. Brandan smiles and again upbraids them for their doubts. The fish aroused, gather about the boat to enjoy the service.

Marvel succeeds marvel. Now it is a high pillar in the midst of the ocean made of gold. Its altars are of emerald and sardonyx, its pavements chalcedony, its lamps beryl,- little wonder the voyagers are astonished. Three days are passed here in chanting masses. The abbot carries away with him a crystal chalice, which crime is readily excused by his purpose to use it in the service of God.

The pilgrims had voyaged a long time without reaching the place of their desire. The farther they proceeded the more they labored at oar and sail, not doubting but that they would be rewarded. A land surrounded by dark clouds and mist appeared before them. It was smoking with thick smoke and cast forth an odor more obnoxious than decaying flesh. Our pilgrims did not wish to enter, having already heard at a distance, that there was little enjoyment in that place. Much they struggled to change their course, but they were forced by the wind in the direction of the strange land. The abbot blessed them and

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said: "Know that you are being driven to hell. You never were in as great need of faith in God as you now are." Brandan again blessed them, knowing well they were near the pit of hell. The nearer they came the more evil they saw. The valley is dark. From profound hollows and ditches, leap forth great sheets of flame, the wind blows in mad blasts. Thunder ne'er roared so loudly. Sparks, sheets of flame, burning rocks fly through the air, so high that they take away the light of day.

When they approached the mountain they saw with great fear a demon issue forth from hell all in flames. He carried a great mallet of iron, large enough to be a pillar. When he perceives the voyagers with a glance of his flaming eyes that burned like fire, he regrets not having his torments all prepared. Casting flames from his throat, he runs with great leaps to his forge and returns carrying red-hot tongs, that weigh as much as ten oxen. He raises them up to the clouds and casts them straight at the pilgrims. Whirlwinds when sucked up into the air, nor quarrel drawn from bow, nor pebble from sling, move faster than that missile. The higher it goes the more force it gathers, first separating and then reuniting. It passes them and falls into the sea where it burns for a long time like heather on a heath. The wind rising, they sail from there. They cast many a look behind and see the isle il-

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luminated and covered with smoke. They see many thousand of sinners and hear more than a thousand cries of the damned.

Great fear had they of the smoke that filled the air far around, enduring it as best they could whilst escaping with all possible speed. The more a holy man suffers from hunger, thirst, cold, fear, heat, anxiety, sadness, the more happiness he finds in God. So it was with them after they had seen where the condemned were received. They strengthened their faith in God, nor turned to doubting. In the morning they found themselves near a mountain covered with clouds. Pushed by the wind they arrive at the shore which was very steep. Not one of them could guess the height of the mountain. Such a dark land they had not seen in all their journey.

For a reason unknown to all, one of their number leaped from the boat. They all heard what he said but the abbot alone saw him. "Lord," he cried, "believe that I am taken from you only because of my sins." And the abbot saw him dragged away by one hundred demons(screaming). The voyagers turn thence and go away, fearful of the sight. The smoke is cleared from the mountain; hell lies open before them, casting forth fire, flames, burning rods, sulphur and pitch up to the very clouds, then all returns to be ejected anew.

Brandan guides them on. An obstacle rises up in the

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sea. "Let us not delay, we will hasten to see what it is," said the abbot. Arrived there, they found what they little expected. Upon a rock was seated a naked man all battered and torn. His face was tied with a cloth. He was clinging to the stone so that a wave from behind should not carry him away. The waves of the sea beat upon him ceaselessly. One wave nearly cleaves him, another throws him upward. Peril surrounds him no less great upon the left than upon the right.

When the wave had completed its chastisment, wearily he made his complaints. "Jesus, King of Majesty, will my punishment endure winter and summer? Jesus, who movest the Almighty, is Thy mercy so great? Jesus thou all merciful, is there no time that I may be free from this my suffering? Jesus, son of Mary, I do not know what to ask for. I know that mercy can not be given for the crime for which I pay penance." When Brandan heard this complaint he was grieved to the utmost. He again blesses all and tries to approach the seat of Judas. As he approaches, wind and wave remain motionless. Whereupon Brandan says: "Tell me, unhappy one, why you suffer these torments. In the name of Jesus, to whom you pray, I command you to tell me who you are and what your crime. Brandan was forced to silence by his tears. Judas answers in a low voice (it was very hoarse and weary); "I am Judas who served Jesus. I sold my Lord and in grief hanged myself. I

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created discord when I should have made peace. I was the keeper of his treasures. I took them from him in theft and the offerings (he desired them all to be given to the poor) that were brought him, I concealed in my purse, wherefore I suffer torments in abundance. I thought it was hidden from him who made the starry heavens. I kept them from God's poor. Now they are rich and I am a mendicant. I am the felon who hated God. I betrayed the single lamb to the wolves. When I saw that he was in the hands of Pilate, I was very much afflicted. When I saw him in the hands of the Jews, the pious man delivered to those cruel wretches, when I saw them jibe at him, and crown him with thorns, when I saw how vilely he was treated, I was sick at heart. When I saw him led to death, his sweet side covered with blood, and hung upon the cross, knowing that I sold him to death, I offered the thirty coins. They would not take them back. I did not repent wisely, but killed myself in my passion. Inasmuch as I did not confess I am damned from day to day. You see nothing of the torment I suffer in Hell. This is the repose from my punishment which I take Saturday eve. All day tomorrow until vespers I sojourn here. During the fortnight of Christmas, the festivals of Mary, at Easter and at Pentecost, I am free from greater pain. No other festival of the year brings with it release from punishment. Tomorrow eve I go away from here and endure torment

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anew.

Then said Brandan: "Tell me in what place do you suffer torment and pain? When you are moved from here to what place do you go?" Judas answered: "Near here is the fief of the devil. There are two hells that cease not to exist winter or summer. The less severe hell is horrible to those who are punished therein. Beside me none are punished in both hells. One is on a mountain, the other in a valley. The salty sea divides them. 'Tis marvellous that all is not consumed by fire. The hell on the mountain is more painful; that in the valley is more horrible. The former warm and sullen, the latter cold and malodorous. One day I am on the mountain, the next I descend into the valley. Endless is my torment. I change hells only to add to my torment. Monday, night and day, I am chastised upon a wheel that turns as rapidly as the wind blows. The next day I am immersed in oil that seems afire. I am cast over the sea into the other hell. Here I am bound by screaming devils and put to bed upon spikes. Lead and rocks are heaped upon me so that my body is pierced with them. On Wednesday I am boiled in pitch, tied to a stake and roasted. This stake is fixed for use, and is as red as if it had lain in maddened flames for ten years. The pitch takes fire and when it is burned off I am rolled in it anew so that I may again

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be wrapped in flame. I am forced to endure a wrath that torments me night and day. No other would desire to be punished thus.

On Thursday I am taken to the valley, there to suffer contrary agony. I am placed in a cold region, dark and obscure. The cold is such that I long for the mad fire. It seems to me as if no other torture can be greater than cold when I feel it. Each seems less until I am placed in it. On Friday I return above where so many tortures await me. They flay my body until not a bit of skin remains, then rub salt upon me and trample my burning flesh, whereupon new skin grows upon me hastily. Ten times a day they flay me and force me to enter salt and to drink molten lead and brass.

Saturday I am cast down into the most odious place in hell where lying without light, I am a prey to greatest fear. I cannot vomit because of the brass they forced me to drink. I become swollen until I am in agony. Such cold, heat and torment suffers Judas during the week. Here I rest. A thousand devils will come and take all repose from me. I know you are holy and pious, for fearless you come to such a place. If then you are able, obtain one night more of repose for me."

Brandan wept for this poor sinner and commanded him to explain where he procured the cloth with which his face

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was tied and the stone upon which he sat. Judas says: "In my life I did little good and much evil. I bought a garment for a naked man with the money in my keeping. When the wave beats upon me some protection is given me by this cloth, but in hell it serves for naught since the money was not mine. Over a piece of water where many men perished I made a little bridge. As a reward I have this stone."

When early eve approached Brandan was convinced of the truth of Judas's statement. He sees one hundred devils coming straight toward him. One of them runs ahead and catches Judas on a hook. Said Brandan: "Let him remain here until morning." The demons continue their mad play until Brandan commands them in the name of Jesus to leave. The monks remain there all night unannoyed by the demons. As soon as dawn appears, again the angry demons appear with the threats of double punishment. Brandan forbids them to punish Judas beyond his due. The demons hasten away with their prey.

Brandan proceeds upon his voyage. At roll-call one of their number is missing. The good abbot forbids further mention of him. Yet another high mountain appears. Brandan alone leaves the boat. He comes to a hut whence comes forth a man, religious and pious. Paul, the hermit, had lived here ninety years served by an otter during thirty. For sixty years he has been nourished by the wa-

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ter of a fountain. Paul prophesies the arrival in Paradise. The customary Easter and Passover celebrations are made, whereupon Brandan sails east accompanied by his good host from the isle of birds.

Three days they are enveloped in a dense cloud. High white walls, all resplendent in precious stones, rise before them. They approach the gate. A sword suspended above it and dragons on guard restrain them from attempting entrance. A young man, messenger of God, removes all obstacles and all enter the long sought for terrestrial paradise, where all the trees are in bloom, rivers filled with fish and flowing in milk. All is joy and happiness. The messenger refuses to take them farther but promises them the pleasure of approaching God when they shall return without their bodies. All re-embark save the pious host who is retained by the angel "for paradise is his proper fief." Three months later finds Brandan and his pilgrims in Ireland. The good abbot continues his work of charity until called to God.

The vocabulary of the St. Brandan is comparatively not very large, having in total not more than one thousand, four hundred and thirty-six words. In that number there is a large enough proportion of French words which have come into English to make a study of it interesting to the student of English Philology. There are as many as three hundred and twenty-nine words in the poem which have come

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into English. Behrens[1] has made a list of French words found in English documents before 1250 and also a supplementary list of those appearing between 1250 and 1400. In his lists he includes two hundred and sixty of the three hundred and twenty-nine words above mentioned. In the following vocabulary the French form of each word as it is given in the poem in question will be placed first followed by the form given by Behrens. In the succeeding vocabulary will appear all French-English words not found in Behren's list, but that are in St. Brandan.

ST. BRANDAN	BEHRENS
apaisez	appease
abit (habit)	abit, habit
adamant	adamant
agregez	agregen
aigre, egre	eager
air	air
airere, arere	arrear
aise	(aisie)
almoine	(almoner)
alter	alter

1. Beiträge für Geschichte der französischen Sprache en England.

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ST. BRAUDAN	BEHREINS
ametistes	amatiste
– amur	amur
– amonestet	amoneste(ment)
angeles	angel
anguisus	anguisuse
– aparalez	aparailed
– apparut	aperede
apelet	appeal
(aperçout)	apercieve
apostolies	apostolie
– arive(d)r	ariued
ardant	ardent(ly)
– armes	armes
– armer	armed
arson	arsun
asemblames	assemble
atendras	atteind
avant	avaunt
avirons	avirown
bataile	bataile
bailis	baily
bestes	beaste
beril	beril
blanche	blanche(t)
blasmer	blamen

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ST. BRANDAN	BERNERS
buf, bofs	beef
bunlet	bunte
buil	boile
burses	purse
braist	bray
branche	branche
broches	broche
calen(ent)	calenges
cachez, chacet	cacche
calcedoine	calcydone
castel	castel
capital	capitele
certe	certes
chaines	chain
chaliz	calice
change	chaunge - change
chante	chant
charget	icharged
chef	chief
chere	chere
choiser	(choice)
citet	cite
clamez	(claim)
cler	clear
colurs	culur

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ST. BRANDAN	BEHRENS
confes	confess
conseil	conseil
conseller	kunsiler
contrarie	contrarie
~~corouneint~~	corunen
cors	cors
creature	creature
criz	cri
cristal	crystal
cr~~os~~uz	creoiz
cruel	cruel
comandet	command(ement)
cunfort	cunfort
cumpaignun	
cumpaine	company~~ie~~, compainie
cumplie	cumplie
cunduz	cundut
curages	courage
cunquerre	cuncveari
cure	cure
defalte	defautes
defent	defendet
deintez	deinte
delicius	delic~~es~~ious
delit	delit

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ST. BRANDAN	BEHRENS
demurer	demeore
descent	descent
desdein	disdain
descuverz	discovert
desire	desire
desperer	despair
destinet	(destine)
detenuz	detain
divers	diuers
doul	deol
(dolent)	
draguns	dragun
duze	duze
duble	duble
eir	eir
emperur	emperur
enforcer	enforce
ennois, anuius	(ennui, anud)
enquist	inquire
entrer	ientrad
erbe, herbes	herb
(errer)	(error)
espirit, spirit	spirit
fals	fals
faitiz	fetis(ly

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ST. BRANDAN	BEHRENS
failet	faille [illegible]
feignent	feign
felun	felon(y)
feste	feste
fei, feid	feid
fin	fin
flum	flum
flurie	iflured
folie	folie
force	force
forfait	forfet(forfaiteth)
fornaise	furneise
forge	forged
fruit	frut
funtaine	fountain
gab?	
gemmes(OE)	gemme
glaive	glaive
glorie	glorie
goie	joie
grace	grace
grande	grand(ame)
gref	gref
grisopase	chrysoprase

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ST. BRANDAN	BENNETS
guarant X	guarant(ee)
guarder /	guard
guarrere	weorreur
gutes	gutte, goutes,
- hermite, ermite	erenite
— honurs	honure
horribles	horrible
hoste X	host
— hure-ure	ure
— ire	ire
jugement	gugement
juindre	join
juste	iustise
- lampes	lampe
larges	large
letre	lettre
lei	lei
- lavum	lauede
maigre	meager
— mail	mailles
maisun	(mansion)
- matere	materie
majested	majesty
marin	marine
mate	mate

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ST. BRANDAN	BEHRENS
— matines	matines
— meister	meister
merci	merci
- merite	merit
- message	message(r)
merveille.	marvel
- miracle	miracle
- movet	moveth
muntaine	montaine
nature	nature
naturel	natur(e)liche)
noble	noble
- noise	noise
numbrent	number
obeir	obey
occean	ocean
odur, udurs	odour
- oile	oli
ordre	ordre
- orguil (O.F.)	orguil
pais	pais
palais	palace
palmes	palm
parfundie	profound

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ST. BRANDAN	BEHRENS
parte	part
passer	passen
peine	payn, payne, peyne
percet	pierce
pere	pier
peril	peril
perisent	perissi
petiz	pety
pertint	pertain
piler	piler
plain	plain
plentet	plente
porter	porter
post	post
povres	poure
precius	precious
priere	prayer, preyere
presence	presence
prime	prime
procession	procession
propre	propre
pruvet	prove
puint	point
(raencunes)	rancor

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ST. BRANDAN	DENBIGH
raisun	raisun
regal, real	real
receivre	receive
reclaim	reclaim
reigne	reigne
reguard	regard
religius	religius
reliques	relikes
rente	rente
repairent	repair
repos	repose
respuns (ut)	(respond)
	(request)
resorbet	resort
retenir	retain
riche	riches
rivere	river
roche	roche
rost	roast
route	rute
saint	seint, saint
saisun	season
saluent	salued
saphire	saphir
sardoine	sardone

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ST. BRANDAN	BERNEUS
scripture	scripture
~~salude~~	saluz
secrei	secree
secund	second
seigne	signes
soür, sur	seur, sure
semblez	semblant
sepulture	sepulcre
sergant	sergant
servise	servise
simple	simple
storie	storie
succurs	succurs
Smaragde	Smaragde
suffrir	suffre
sujurner	sujurn
talent	talent
tempestes	tempestes
~~tenire~~	~~tenire~~
terce	tierce
termes	terme
topaze	topaz
travaill	traueil
tresor	tresor
trone	trone

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ST. BRANDAN	BEHRENS
turner	turnen
truble	trubull
ureisuns	ureisuns, orison

Words found in St. Brandan, but not in Behrens, that came into the English before 1400:

arbeleste

ajurnet

alumer

apareil

barge

banc ?[1]

(candeile)

corde

curanz

custe

cunte

cuvvert

cuntet

dampnez

declin(ant)

demander

descordai

---

1. This word may be Old English.

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endurer(ent)

enemis

enfermetet

fiance

flammes

grisolites

honeste

larcin

mandet

melodie

occident

offrande

orient

paveilluns

plum

quarrel

rage

((rechargerent) charge)

regret(ent)

revelat

rendre ;

repentir

repleniz

(reprist (latin, but French spelling)

resemblout

reupentance

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(revisitout) visit

romanz

sutil

suvereins

targe(t)

tentez

trenchant

valur

vassal(ment)

vespere

vil

Note. werec (Old English) introduced into French.

eschipede, out of O.E. " " "

helte (Old English) hilt, introduced into French.

Words found in St. Brandan, but not in Behrens, that came into the English after 1400.

amasset

ample

aspirat

bovine

cuntre

deces

dolent

drape

encasset

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enclin

enclose

(festal)

(fort (1660 ?)

fosses "

fume

gorge

hanap (hamper)

(juvenilz)

penant

(poes)[1]

praierie

psalmodie

sacel (sachel)

(saluent)

sain

savant

sumet

superb

tenebrus

---

1. Question as to origin.

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tumulte

umbrajet

.veritet

vi[illegible]

While the French-English vocabulary of St. Brandan is thus interesting and significant, the forms of the words, even taking them as the copyist gives them, and not as the author evidently wrote them, do not give much ground for the theories of those who insist upon Norman and Anglo-Norman influence as distinguished from French. Nothing could be more misleading than such a statement as this, found in a recent writer upon this subject.[1] "At the period of the Norman Conquest, Parisian French did not hold its present position of literary supremacy. French grew out of the spoken dialects of Latin, and the Norman French when it came to be written, spelled peuple, people; loyal, leal; royaume, realm; royal, real and so on." Evidently the parallel is intended to be drawn between Parisian French of the eleventh century or the first quarter of the twelfth century (date of the oldest Anglo-French texts which have come down to us) and Norman French of the same period, so that "Norman French when it came to be written spelled pueple, people; leiax, leal, reialme, realm;

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1. C.F.Johnson, English Words (1895) p. 61

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reial, real and so on." But the author of St. Brandan in one of the oldest of these texts, evidently wrote poeple, a form quite as good "Parisian French" as pueple (cf. Koschwitz ed. of Karls des Grossen Reisen.) In line 21 of St. Brandan is found real, in line 27 reial, and in line 269, regal. According to the general rule of textual criticism, that where the original manuscript has not come down to us, the older form should always be preferred, the author of St. Brandan wrote as a Parisian Frenchman might have done, reial. The other three words are not in St. Brandan, but if reial, then leial and reiaume would naturally follow. To take another instance, in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. xv, H. von Jagemann treats of Norman words in English. "Among other things" he says (p. 11) "Anglo-Norman prefers single vowels to diphthongs. It has a decided predilection for ei over French ai, from whatever source the last may come." An exception indeed, but the general tendency is in favor of ei which is often contracted into e." As examples he gives A.N. forfet but St. Brandan has, line 1261, forfait, A.N. lesser, treiter and treter, peis [illegible], pleisir, seiser and sesir, negre, egre, resun, sesun, whereas St. Brandan has without exception (as in line 1290) traiter, (line 873,) pais, (line 130) plaisir, (line 369,) saisir, (line 1024) maigre, (line 343) raisun, (line 1745,)

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saisun, laiser six times (lines 1470, 193, 1476, 508, 960, to once(line 568) leisir, twice aigre (lines 1025, 942) to once(line 788) egre. The only two other examples given which are found in St. Brandan, oreisun and nestre, are written oreison and nestre. It may be added, however, that there is nothing peculiar to Anglo-Norman in the ei or e in these words. The forms oreison and nestre are in Chrestien de Troyes. There is also in St. Brandan no case of checked nasal a becoming an as avant, a characteristic so much insisted upon in the so-called Anglo-Norman dialect. This, as Meyer-Lübke[1] has shown, is but one of those modifications of the French forms due to the influence of Old English phonetics, and should be classed with the writing of Latin d and t by th, found only in manuscripts written in England and of which several examples are found in St. Brandan: vetheir, line 55, abeth, line 13, setheir, line 56. The French English word faith where this th survives does not happen to appear in this form in St. Brandan, but as feid, fei, fed, fai, fait. The nearest approach to the form is in the adjective feithful, (line 210.) Thephanie, (lines 768 and 779) is interesting as a pure anglicism for The Epiphany.

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1. W. Meyer-Lübke, Grammaire des Langues Romanes, vol. I. p. 36%.

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